AN ARGUMENT

To prove the

AFFECTIONS

OF THE

People of ENGLAND

To be the best

Security of the GOVERNMENT;

Humbly offer'd

To the Consideration of the Patrons of Seventy, and applied to the present Juncture of Affairs.

Quos ego — sed motos præstat componere fluctus.

According to the COPY.

Printed at *London* for [illegible] *Jones*, at the *Peacock* in the *Strand*, 1716.

Vet. A4 f. 1699 2

BODLEIAN
16 DEC 1964

from D.M. Hill. 90/32

AN ARGUMENT To prove the AFFECTIONS OF THE People of ENGLAND To be the beſt Security of the Government, &c.

WHEN a Nation is engaged in a Civil War, and the Prince becomes involved therein; his Part in the Confuſion is uſually, either to maintain the juſt Rights of the Crown againſt the Encroachments of the Subject; or to ſupport one Part of his People from the Oppreſſions or Outrages of another; or to defend his Crown from a Faction in his Kingdom who may ſet up a Pretender; or elſe he may take up Arms to invade the Rights of his Subjects, and ſo be himſelf the Aggreſſor; in which laſt Caſe alone, to ſpare none, who have either the Power or Will to oppoſe him, may be agreeable to *Matchiavel*'s Doctrine: Becauſe one Wickedneſs is only to be juſtified by another: As likewiſe for

the ſame Cauſe, that in all Diſputes, That Party which hath leaſt Juſtice on its Side, is commonly obſerved to be moſt violent; as hoping, by ſuper-abundant Paſſion, to ſupply the Defect of Reaſon.

But in the three former Caſes, it ſeems manifeſtly the Intereſt of a Prince *to give a good Account of the Rebels*, rather by reducing them to their Duty, than by deſtroying them by Fire, the Sword, or Gibbet. Which are a Sort of Arguments altogether as prepoſterous to teach Men Allegiance, as to inſtruct them in Religion; and which, at long run, muſt make the Prince the Loſer, by depriving him of at leaſt ſo much of the original Strength of his Kingdom, as there are Perſons who ſuffer without Neceſſity; as thoſe Sufferers have Friends, Aſſociates, or Well-wiſhers; or, it may be, as there are Hearts ſenſible of Humanity.

Not that this is a Point uncontroverted: For the warm Zealots for Government, have ever been in Appearance of different Sentiments. Their Zeal either really blinding their Reaſon; or elſe, being artificially blown up to that Height, on Purpoſe to diſplay it the more, and thereby to make their Court the more ſucceſsfully. Therefore it is, that, in a Caſe of Rebellion, they breath Vengeance; think no Remedies ſo good as to make clear Work, and loudly declare, nothing leſs can be the Security of a Government, than the utter Extirpation of all who are its Enemies in the moſt minute Circumſtance; or even who expreſs any Regard to *Moderation*, as if *Amputation* were the ſole Remedy theſe Political Butchers could find out for the Diſtempers of a State; or, that they thought the only Way to make the Top flouriſh, were to lop off the under Branches.

In our preſent State of Affairs, the Politicians of the Coffee-houſes are divided, concerning the Treatment to be uſed towards the open Rebels who are ſubdued, and the Rebels *incognito* who may be brought under the Laſh. The far greater, that is, the noiſier Part, are for the utmoſt Rigor which *their* Laws of *War*, or Laws of *Convenience* can inſpire them with. Of this Claſs chiefly are the Gentlemen of *Fire*, and *Caſuiſts in red Coats*.

Coats. Others heartily compaſſionate the bleeding Condition of their Country, and of Conſequence, are for more healing Methods: Whilſt thoſe whoſe Phlegm and cold Blood are diſcompos'd, by no Sparks of Paſſion or Humanity, ſedately ruminate upon ſteddy ſanguinary Counſels: Counſels which ſhall produce Examples of a ſevere but neceſſary Revenge! which ſhall rivet the King's Authority, together with that of the Miniſtry, and make them be duely obeyed and perfectly dreaded!

Hence that antiquated Maxim in *England*, *Oderint dum Metuant*, *Let them Hate ſo they Fear*, hath, of late Days, been revived among us; and hence it may happen that his Majeſty, who is eminent for good Nature and right Intentions, may be neceſſitated to purſue Meaſures which he abhores from his Heart; it being a Thing not unfrequent for the Violence of Followers to puſh their Leaders into Dangers and Extremities, and to overſet a State, by obliging the Governours to carry too much Sail.

For my Part, how averſe ſoever it may be to the reigning Humour on our Side, I cannot but declare my Opinion to be in Favour of Clemency; as alſo, that at this Juncture, I take Clemency to be the beſt Policy: If herein I have the Misfortune to diſſent from my Superiors and better Judges, I hope they will have the Candor to excuſe a Thing, which proceeds equally from my Zeal for his Majeſty, and my Affection to my Country. I do not preſume to dictate to the Miniſtry, what or how they ſhall act. I would only fain improve the little good Nature there is in the World, which might be a Means to deliver the Miniſtry from the importunate Clamours of the Blood-thirſty: And I would likewiſe, if poſſible, reclaim ſome in my own Sphere, who being poſſeſs'd with a Spirit of Rancour, never ceaſe to call out for Slaughter, Forfeitures, Attainders, and *decent* Executions: An Intemperance which, it is not unlikely, may precipitate wiſer Perſons into unpopular, dangerous Courſes, to ſay no worſe; and what makes this Ferment the more likely to prevail, it hath the Shew of Policy and Intereſt on its Side,

Side, and the Advocates for Severity, are not without very affecting Motives to ſway them in their Counſels and Actings.

Firſt, it is repreſented, That there hath been a moſt unnatural Rebellion rais'd in theſe Kingdoms, with intent to dethrone his Majeſty, and in his Stead, to impoſe upon us a *Popiſh* Pretender: That the Rebels deſerve the higheſt Puniſhment the Laws can inflict; for if a Malefactor ſhall be hang'd for ſtealing a Horſe, or taking a Purſe upon the high Road, how much rather thoſe, who, in attempting to rob his Majeſty of his Imperial Crown, did what in them lay to involve the Nation in the worſt of Miſeries, Popery and Servitude?

To which I Anſwer, That it is infinitely to be lamented, that there is ſo horrid a Rebellion. I am far from extenuating the Guilt of the Offenders; who, indiſputably, merit to be ſeverely chaſtis'd. But give me leave to add, That it is not every Thing which they deſerve, according to Law, that is expedient or reputable for the Government to lay upon them. They have in a very giddy unjuſtifiable Manner, expos'd themſelves to a ſharp Proſecution; and if they are puniſh'd, they have none to thank but themſelves. They engag'd in a raſh, deſperate, unconcerted Attempt, and have ſucceeded accordingly; they now ly at his Majeſty's Diſcretion, and the Queſtion is, whether the Government ſhall ſhew Mercy, or take a Reverend Divine's Advice who lately exhorted from his Pulpit, *To ſlay Man and Woman, Infant and Suckling*, &c. I cannot poſitively ſay, that the learned Doctor applied his Text to the Times, nor would I willingly ſuppoſe him guilty of Heterodox Politicks, becauſe that may do Miſchief, tho' odd Notions in Divinity may do none; but with great Submiſſion methinks the Choice of ſuch a Text at ſuch a Seaſon, when it might be thought to mean ſomething, looked a little uncouth, and ſeemed to ſquint at what doth not become his Function. However, be his Sentiments what they will, I dare be bold to affirm, that as there is room for Mercy, ſo there

is Reaſon for it, and that the leſs Blood there ſhall be ſpilt on this Occaſion, the more it will be for the Honour as well as Security of the Government.

His Majeſty hath it now in his Election to ſubdue the Rebels by the Ax and Halter, or by Royal Clemency, that will render his Authority dreadful, and but juſt ſo long ſecure, as it will not be in the Power of his People to ſubvert it. The latter will endear his Perſon to the Nation, and then they will neither have the Power nor Will to diſturb him. It is truly Heroick to overcome the Hearts of one's Enemies; and when it is to be compaſſed, the Undertaking is truly Politick; ſuch a Victory would deſerve more than a *Roman Triumph*: And ſuch is now preſented to his Majeſty by providence, which hath hitherto remarkably appear'd in his Favour upon many Occaſions; and I think upon none more than this, that he hath now ſo fair an Opportunity of conquering more Enemies by one Act of Clemency, than the moſt ſucceſsful General will be able to do in many Campaigns; an Opportunity not unlike that, whereon *Henry* the Fourth of *France* ſo handſomely expreſſed his Tenderneſs for his People; when at ſigning the Treaty of *Vervins*, he ſaid, *That by one Daſh of his Pen he had overcome more Enemies than he could ever be able to do with the Sword.*

The Expreſſion ſpoke the Hero; yet it would come with more Advantage from his preſent Majeſty, would he be pleaſed to aſſert at this Time his great Prerogative of forgiving; which I dare ſay he thinks the brighteſt and moſt valuable Jewel in his Crown. On the other Hand, the Friends to ſevere Counſels alledge, it is an eaſy Matter to harangue upon the Glory of pardoning, but the Practice is not ſo ſafe, where a Crown is at Stake. To forgive, ſay they, is to encourage; for which of the Rebels would not relapſe with his Pardon in his Pocket, or after ſuch a Precedent? The Security of the Government dependeth upon a reſolute Conduct, not to be aw'd by fear; nor to be moved by Compaſſion; not to puniſh would be to argue Cowardice, at beſt too much Eaſi-

neſs.

neſs. Let the Law therefore have its Courſe, and infallibly we ſhall ſoon ſee the Judge and Executioner will completely tame the Faction.

But in this Scheme, howſoever plauſible, I doubt the Conſequences are not ſo clear as ſome may flatter themſelves. If the Faction be as numerous as is pretended; if the Spirit hath ſpread it ſelf over the whole Kingdom; if it hath mixed with the Maſs of the People, then certainly all bloody Meaſures will but whet Men the more for Revenge: Which, altho' as things now ſtand, it need not be apprehended, yet may in the Variety of future Events create no ſmall Danger. It is impracticable in ſo general a Corruption to deſtroy all who are infected, and unleſs you deſtroy all, you do nothing to the purpoſe: But the very Means you apply to remedy the Evil will but encreaſe it, and that for this plain Reaſon, becauſe thoſe very Means, or the apprehenſions of them, have brought Things to the Paſs wherein they are, and conſequently will reduce them from bad to worſe.

I conceive it will be readily granted, that this rebellious Spirit hath gained Ground ſince his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, and not thro' too much Lenity neither; for to give the Miniſters of Juſtice their due, I think they have ſpared few or none who have fallen into their Hands; neither do I impute the Increaſe of it to any Rigor or Hardſhips from the Government; for that would be to commit a Violence to my own Underſtanding. But I preſume it can juſtly offend none to ſay, this Growth of Diſaffection is in a great Meaſure owing to the groundleſs Jealouſies Men entertained of the preſent Adminiſtration, as if they were to expect nothing but Cruelty under it. How thoſe Jealouſies were infuſed is another Queſtion, and not material to the Argument in Hand; and how they have wrought upon the Minds of Men, ſo as to make them act as they have done, is as little to my preſent Purpoſe. But we have ſeen the Conſequences, and the ſame Cauſes may another

ther Day produce the ſame Effects, when they cannot perhaps be ſo eaſily obviated.

Never was Prince more univerſally well received by Subjects than his preſent Majeſty on his Arrival, and never was there leſs done by a Prince to create a Change in People's Affections. But ſo it is, a very obſervable Change hath happened. Evil Infuſions were ſpread on the one Hand, and it may be there was too great a Stoiciſm or Contempt of Popularity on the other.

I ſuppoſe the Reaſon why the great Men at the Helm did not more induſtriouſly court the vulgar Applauſe, was the Conſcience that they only aimed at the good of the Publick, and ſo were the leſs anxious what Cenſures might be paſſed on their Actions by the undiſcerning Crowd. Yet it were to be wiſhed the Circumſtances of Affairs could have admitted of their being as well in the Opinion of that Crowd, as in their own. Nay, I wiſh with all my Soul they had ſtooped a little, *ad captum vulgi*, to take in theſe ſhallow fluttering Hearts which are to be caught by any thing baited with the Name of *Church*. But perhaps the Times would not bear it. Perhaps in the hurry of Buſineſs it was not thought on. Perhaps after all it did not make for the Ends propoſed; yet ſtill we may learn this Obſervation from it, that ſince People flew into ſuch a Phrenzy upon the idle Suggeſtions and Fears that they were fallen under a rude Yoke, and to be govern'd by a high Hand, what will they do now when they daily ſee and hear of their Country-men being whipped to Death, led in Triumph, treated with Ignominy, hanged, drawn and quarter'd? They will never reaſon that theſe Things are the due Reward of the Folly or Treaſon of the Offenders; but tho' a few more hardned than the reſt may take delight in ſuch Spectacles, or it may be think they do the Government Service by inſulting the Sufferers, yet the Generality will never be brought to believe but that thoſe, who ſuffer only for Treaſon, have very hard Meaſure; nor can you with all your Severity undeceive them of their Error,

tho' you may make them wiſe enough to conceal their Sentiments until a fitting Occaſion. Reſentment will inflame ſome, in others Compaſſion will by Degrees riſe into Reſentment. This will naturally beget a Diſpoſition to overturn what they diſlike, and then there will want only a fair Opportunity. The Quality of the Sufferers, their Alliances, their Characters, their being *Engliſhmen*, with a thouſand other Circumſtances, will contribute to breed more ill Blood than all the State-Chirurgeons can poſſibly let out.

It may be replyed, That all this imports nothing. The King is in poſſeſſion of the Fleet, the Army, the Treaſure, and which is yet of more Moment, of the Hearts of much the greater and more valuable Part of his People. which I eaſily allow, and am only concern'd that he hath one Enemy in *England*. But would it not be of more Advantage to himſelf, to his Family, to the Kingdom, to his Reputation at home and abroad, that he ſhould be in full Poſſeſſion of the whole? If the Reaſons I have laid down are of weight, too ſtrict Juſtice, which hath always been term'd the higheſt Injuſtice, may not only keep thoſe averſe to him, who are ſo already, but may alſo alienate more from him, and every Head that ſhall be cut off, deprive him of hundreds of Hearts. Mercy on the contrary can offend none, and may, nay certainly will, gain over Thouſands. Is there a Man alive who could take it amiſs, that his Majeſty thinks fit to pardon thoſe who have injur'd him? In this Inſtance no one's *Eye* can be *Evil* becauſe the King's is *Good*; at leaſt I know no one but the Executioner who could reaſonably complain of this Proceeding. And are there not infinite Numbers who would become moſt dutiful upon any fair Invitation, upon the leaſt Appearance of Grace? The King doth not want them, you ſay, he is powerful enough without them to curb the Stubbornneſs of his Rebel Subjects. He is! Then for that very Reaſon in my Opinion it would be glorious to receive them to Pardon; for

then

then only Mercy is Meritorious when it is voluntary, and not extorted by the Neceſſity of Affairs.

Beſides, as well circumſtantiated as the Government is at preſent, Things may not always remain in the ſame Poſture. In which Caſe the popular Affection would be no contemptible Article. In all Perplexities wherewith a Prince may be encumbred, the Love of his People is his beſt Security, and if I may ſo ſay, the ſureſt human Fence againſt Misfortunes from Heaven; for which Reaſon, with many others, it hath never been thought Policy for a Prince to reject Opportunities of winning the Affections of his Subjects: Eſpecially when he is but in the Morning of his Reign, when it behoved him of all Things to make the firſt Impreſſion favourable, and to ſet out with a good Grace: And perhaps there cannot be produced an Inſtance in Hiſtory of any truly great Prince, who acted upon different Principles. Some, who have filled the World with Slaughter and Conqueſt, may have proceeded otherwiſe, but thoſe, I am confident, are ſuch Examples as his Majeſty will not care to follow; ſuch who, while they live, were never free from Jealouſy and Dangers, and when they dyed, left behind them the Reputation of ſucceſsful Oppreſſors, together with a Curſe to their Family and Poſterity.

It is owned the King hath the Army on his Side, and ſuch an Army as both for Officers and Soldiers is hardly to be matched in the World: Yet ſtill it is a Truth, altho it may in theſe Times appear a bold one, that he who chooſeth to govern by a military Force, doth, upon the Matter, enſlave himſelf; that is, he can expect to be King but *durante bene placito* of the Army; whereas a Prince who reigns in the Hearts of his People, is ſettled on the Throne beyond the Power of any Malecontents to ſhake him or his Authority, and upon any Emergency may have as many Soldiers as he pleaſeth, and almoſt as he he hath Subjects. But an Army eſtabliſhed, and the ſole or main Support of any Government is at beſt a kind of unruly Monſter, which when it finds its own

Strength, will ſcarce be content with leſs than giving Laws. A factious Officer, or the Caprice of the Soldiery, hath often endangered or overthrown a Government, which depended chiefly upon a military Force. The *Prætorian* Bands have given Emperors to *Rome*. The *Janizaries* have depoſed and ſtrangled their Sultans, and advanced whom they pleaſed. Examples indeed very diſtant from any Thing we have now to fear. But great Events have often owed their Riſe to ſmall Beginnings, and that which to Day or to Morrow may ſeem unlikely, may in Proceſs of Time appear to be a very natural Conſequence. The Parliament of *Forty One*, which raiſed an Army to ſupport their own Liberties, could ſcarce have imagined that that Army, a Creature of their own, and ſo entirely at their Devotion, ſhould in a very few Years be made the Inſtrument to kick them out of all Power, and to ſubject them to a tyrannical Uſurper.

To this I muſt add, that we cannot well ſuppoſe there will always be an Army in being in theſe Kingdoms. I mean, a Strength ſufficient to keep them in due Subjection againſt their Will. So that tho' we might anſwer for the Modeſty and Fidelity of the Officers and good Diſpoſition of the Soldiers, tho' we were morally certain that no future Temptations or Incidents could corrupt either the one or the other, yet when the Army ſhall be disbanded, thoſe Inconveniencies, which I have already deduced, will occur; and it may be repented too late, that there was not as much Pains taken to make the Government acceptable, as to make it terrible. And when I ſuppoſe the Army will be disbanded, I put the beſt Face upon the preſent Meaſures, that they are capable of. Suppoſe the contrary, and the Thought is intolerable. Upon the whole, the Government by a Series of Severities will find it ſelf reduced to this Dilemma; either to perpetuate Oppreſſion and Miſery upon a freeborn, and for the moſt Part an innocent People; or at one Time or other to be at the Mercy of an incenſed Nation. The King muſt either act eternally in a violent Oppoſition to the bent of the

Engliſh,

Engliſh, and entail Bondage upon us and our Poſterity, by keeping in Pay a ſufficient Number of thoſe, who will be Villains enough for Hire to be the Miniſters of their Countries Miſery; or elſe he muſt try to play an After-game, and endeavour to recover that popular Affection, which in the Infancy of his Reign his Counſellors ſet at nought, and waſhed off the Minds of Mankind by a Deluge of Blood.

How his Majeſty will like to try this Experiment I cannot pretend to ſay. But it is eaſie to judge how much the Country will recoil at a Practice of the former Kind, the Country haraſſed with Taxes, ſunk over Head and Ears in Debt, and fixed in Opinion, that inſtead of ripping up old and provoking new Sores, our Buſineſs had been to have made the beſt of Things, as we found them, and taken proper Courſes to ſettle the Kingdom, and eas'd it of ſome of thoſe immoderate monſtrous Debts with which it hath of late, been very unneceſſarily encumbered.

This, I take it, is the Senſe of the Bulk of the Nation: And, if I am not miſtaken, even the preſent Sticklers for Force, for carrying every Thing by a high Hand, for Ruling by *Red-coats*, will e're long, grow heartily Sick of the Oppreſſions, the Inſolence, the Outrages, the Brutalities of Upſtarts; not but the Army contains ſeveral Men of Honour, but theſe will not be the Perſons employed upon wicked Attempts; whilſt there are Foot-men, Coach-men, and common Cut-throats enough in it to do the Buſineſs. And perhaps, tho' for a while, a Government may ſubſiſt againſt the Genius of a People; yet, at Length it will be found, That Nature will carry it. and return to its original Form.

It is not improbable all this Reaſoning will appear to be meerly Speculative to ſome, and Ill-grounded to others; and if ſo, I deſire the Friends of the K---- to take this in ſhort with them. If his M----y loſeth the Hearts of his People, then it is evident he hath nothing to depend upon but the Army: And if the Army be thus mounted into the Chair of State, and inveſted with regal Authority, I deſire to know, Whether

ther they will always be controlled by their own Dependant; not to ſay any Thing of the total Diſaffection of the reſt of his Subjects, but too much provok'd, deſperate, prompt to do any Thing to ruin thoſe who ruin'd them? This, I ſay, deſerves ſome Conſideration.

Wholſome Severities, it may be urg'd, can do the K------ no Diſ-ſervice with his People: He may ſtill retain their Affection, and yet let the Laws have their Courſe in puniſhing the Guilty. For whilſt he doth not interpoſe one Way or other, of what Conſequence can it be to him, how many or how few are brought to the Scaffold? To which I reply, That tho' I do not know how it is, or why it ſhould be ſo; yet, the *Dead-Warrant* is always ſuppos'd to come from the *Crown*, and that when the *Crown* doth not interpoſe in Favour of *Sufferers*, it is taken for granted, That it is well-diſpos'd to their Execution. I believe alſo, the World generally concludes, That when a Man can do a Thing, and doth not do it, he hath no Mind to it; Or, which is the ſame Thing, he hath more Mind to ſomething elſe.

Among all the general Obſervations of the wiſeſt Princes we know of, I think there is none holds more univerſally, than, *Mercy and Truth preſerve a King, and his Throne is eſtabliſhed in Mercy.* A merciful good-natur'd Diſpoſition is, of all others, the moſt amiable Quality, and, in Princes always attended with the popular Love. Clemency in a Prince, is like Generoſity in a private Perſon: It is a Vertue that never comes ſingle; and which, tho' every Man doth not ſtand in need of, yet, every Man approves, becauſe he doth not know how ſoon he may want it; or becauſe it is Natural, in ſuch a Caſe, to ſuppoſe one's Self in the Place of the Perſon obliged. Clemency is likewiſe an Argument of Fearleſneſs; whereas Cruelty not only betrays a weak, abject, deprav'd Spirit; but alſo is, for the moſt Part, a certain Sign of Cowardice. Hence it is a vulgar Remark, That where-ever Women are concern'd in Robbing, they are the Counſellors of Murthering too; and the Nature of the Thing

is the ſame in greater Matters. The late King *William* acted a very prudent as well as magnanimous Part, upon the Diſcovery of a Plot againſt him, wherein ſome great Men, now living, afterwards his good Subjects, were very deep. He called a Conſultation of his Friends, ſome of which urged him to execute every Man concerned in the Buſineſs: After canvaſſing the Whole, he diſmiſs'd his Counſellors, and ſaid to one of his Confidents, *Thoſe People think I have had nothing to do but to come into* England *to be their Hangman*; and ſo he let the Thing ſleep, as well knowing that Cruelty is not only Odious to all who may be affected by it, but Contemptible in the Eyes of the whole World.

Notwithſtanding all that I have ever yet heard upon the Subject, I ſtill think, and I believe I therein ſpeak the ſenſe of every diſpaſſionate Man of the Kingdom, That the Rebels may and ought to be Pardoned. Pardoned, if it be more for the Honour of the Government to forgive than to Revenge; if Mercy be really a *Divine Vertue*, and becoming a Prince; if the Offenders are likely, by Lenity, to be won over to be good Subjects; or if a general Act of Indemnity be the Method intirely to break the Neck of the Party.

When you reaſon with Perſons diſſaffected to the Government, and obſerve to them, how juſt and mild a Prince adorns the Throne; they challenge you to produce inſtances of the leaſt Lenity under the preſent Admininiſtration, from the firſt Hour it commenc'd, to this Day. Who, that wiſh'd the Peace of the Kingdom, or the Honour of his Majeſty, would not be glad to ſtop their Mouths with the particulars where, and when, and to whom ſuch and ſuch acts of Grace have been vouchſafed? And which of the Rebels could be ungrateful enough to reſiſt or abuſe Goodneſs, exemplified in Practice, as well as extoll'd in Theory? at leaſt, if there ſhould be any guilty of ſuch Ingratitude they would be left without Excuſe, and the King could anſwer it to God and Man that he had done his Part: the Experiment might do much Good, and can poſſibly do no Harm. Let the People not only

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ehar of the Lenity of the Government, but feel it, and there will hardly be a Heart to oppoſe his Majeſty: But if this be not done, every Man who doth not find his Account in an implicite Faith, will be a rank Sceptick. The Minions of a Court, though never ſo ſenſible themſelves of the good Diſpoſitions of the Prince, may grow hoarſe with Panegyricks upon his Vertues, and all to very little Purpoſe towards the Conviction of of others, unleſs we *feel* the Influence of thoſe Vertues. You might as eaſily have perſuaded the Ignorant, That in the late violent Froſt and Snow, the Sun was exceſſively hot, when they were ready to ſtarve with cold. The *Litterati* know the intrinſick Heat of the Sun is always the ſame, but this Doctrine will not go down with the ruder Sort; in Things of this Nature, bare Hearſay or Tradition will not ſerve the Turn: moſt Men require ſenſible Demonſtration.

I own it is impoſſible to pleaſe all Men: When People are diſpos'd to find Fault, nothing is done as it ſhould be; and therefore it is, I am for ſearching into the Fountain Head, and for taking away the Diſpoſition to be out of Humour with the Government: Nor is it a Thing difficult to be atchieved. One popular Act would even yet retrieve all, and much ſooner extinguiſh the *Inclination*, than any Severities can deprive Men of the *Power* to Rebel.

Neither among other Topicks, which are the hourly Cant of our Friends, am I over-fond of the Doctrine of making *Examples of Traitors*; whereof I cannot ſee the vaſt Uſe. Can it be of any great Comfort to the Royal Family, to think how much Blood their Succeſſion hath coſt the Nation? Will it be a delightful Proſpect to have the Heads and Limbs of their Subjects thrown in their Eyes, as they paſs through any Town in their Dominions? Is the Reformation of our Calendar to be made by Blood, and the Terms and Seaſons to be diſtinguiſhed by the ſeveral tragical Executions? Or is Terror to become the only national Principle? If ſo, I am afraid it will have no other Effect then to make Men more cautious

tious Rebels, which would be our great Misfortune; but it will never make them better Subjects: To do which, is the most reputable Ambition of a Prince?

To take off the Heads of the Party is likewise another Piece of Policy much in Fashion, and recommended with Warmth and Confidence; although, at the Bottom, it may prove most unwholsome Advice. I grant, a Multitude, without a Head to conduct them, is a contemptible Sort of Enemy; but the Mischief is, they will not long remain without a Head: An enrag'd Populace will find out a *Massiello*, if they cannot procure a Duke of *Guise* to lead them; and tho' perhaps their Reign may prove short-liv'd, and they be suddenly crush'd, yet that depends upon a Chance: And beside, in the Height of their Rage, they may in an Instant commit that which is never to be remedied

Again: It is not impossible, nor unlikely, but that some of those Men, who seem now most violent Courtiers, may, from the Fickleness of Humane Nature. or from other Motives, lay hold of the Disaffection they themselves help to create, and may hereafter set themselves at the Head of these turbulent Spirits, which might now be so easily laid. I remember the old Earl of *Shaftsbury* was the deepest in all the Measures, which gave the first Check to that Tide of Affection that flow'd in upon King *Charles* the Second, after the Restoration; yet upon a slight Disgust, he Tack'd about, and Struck in with the Malcontents; the Popishly-affected Courtier commenced Protestant Patriot. It was then no longer *Delenda est Carthago*, destroy the *Dutch*; but, *the King is beset with evil Counsellors, and the* Dutch *are our only true Friends.* So little is a Prince to conclude, that the same Men who advise him to any Thing to Day, will not, to Morrow, be the sharpest Animadverters upon his Mal-Administration, and upon these very Things whereof they were the chief Advisers.

It is in vain to talk to the Winds, or argue against Mens Passions; and I have no great Opinion of my

being able to convert any Man, who cares not what becomes of his King, or his Country, ſo long as his Ambition is gratified, or he hath a full Revenge on the Authors of his Fears. But on the ſober Part of Mankind it muſt ſurely make ſome Impreſſion, to conſider our preſent Circumſtances and future Proſpect. What one good End, what juſtifiable Reaſon can be aſſign'd for thoſe Violences, which we are either to be very fond of, or to be branded for our *Indifference*? Whither do thoſe Violences tend? Not to the preſerving our Conſtitution; for, the fewer Shocks it receives, the better it will be preſerv'd; unleſs it be like ſome old Houſes, which, as People fancy, ſtand the firmer the more they rock in a high Wind. Not to the Honour of his Majeſty, for that will be moſt advanced by the real Marks of Clemency; not to his Intereſt, that being inſeparable from his Honour; nor yet to the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion; for I fear, unleſs we ſhew more Charity, our Adverſaries will not grow much enamour'd with our Reformation.

All Violences in Government tend towards breaking up old Foundations, and when that is done, new Ones muſt be ſuperinduced. When the Fundamentals of a free State are begun to be changed, no matter by whom, either Anarchy muſt come in, and then God knows what will follow; or elſe abſolute deſpotick Power, and then we all know what is to come next: And whatever alienates the Affections of a People from a Prince, muſt neceſſarily create a Conculſion in the State. I would fain know what can ſecure a Prince, who is generally hated, unleſs it be Arbitrary Power; and what one Mortal deſerves to be truſted without Limitation.

Will any one deny, that thoſe Princes who have unneceſſarily put many to Death in their own Quarrel, have not been univerſally reputed Cruel? Was there ever a cruel Prince that was not hated by his Subjects? And can a Prince be odious to his People, and not either be ſacrificed by them, or make them

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and their Liberties a Sacrifice? The Tranſition from the firſt to the laſt Step, is too eaſy and plain to need Proof.

But all this, you will ſay, doth not reach the Caſe before us. I hope not. I ſhould be loath to ſee Things brought to either Extremity; and I am ſure the Way to prevent it, is to deal mildly with thoſe unfortunate Gentlemen concern'd in the Rebellion; ſome of whom threw themſelves upon the *King*'s Mercy, the Promiſe whereof induced them to ſurrender; as all of them have need of it. There is a Word which hath of late been much abuſed, I mean *Moderation*, and I ſhould be ſorry to find *Clemency* undergo the ſame Fate. I hope his Majeſty will not ſuffer himſf to be out-done by a Pretender in perſonating the King. The Pretender declared a general Pardon to all; and ſhall our rightful King ſhew himſelf leſs the true Father of his People, and afford his Pardon to none of thoſe People, who (like. K. *Lear* to his Daughters) had ſo great a Confidence in his Vertue, as to give him All? Sure he muſt have ſome faithful Friend to let him know the Diſpoſitions of the People, and ſet before him his own Intereſt. Was there ever a great, a good, or a happy Prince, that was not Merciful? Is it poſſible for a Man to ſit down and contrive an Opportunity, where Mercy might be diſplayed with more Glory and Safety to a Prince, than at the preſent? What hath he to fear from a Conduct of that kind? What Advantage can he reap by the contrary?

Wherever the good Men the *Jeſuites* have had the Superintendance of Affairs, the Influence of bloody Counſels hath been very Remarkeable. Yet the Succeſs hath not anſwered Expectation. To the Savage Barbarity of the Duke of *Alva* was owing the irreparable Defection of the Seven United Provinces from the Crown of *Spain*. The unpopular Execution of Count *Egmont* and *Horn*, was ſufficiently repented of, when it was too late. The Succeſſion of the King of *Navarre* to the Crown of *France* was in a

great Measure the Effect of the implacable Malice of the *League* against him. And the *Western Assizes* in King *James*'s Reign, disposed those Countries to receive the Prince of *Orange* with open Arms, and did not a little contribute to the general Aversion towards that unhappy King and his Ministry; and that brought about the *Revolution*: As if Providence were resolved sooner or later to turn the Weapons of Malice and Revenge upon those, who seem to be the fondest of them. Having mentioned that great Prince, (*Henry* the Fourth) I must observe his Behaviour towards the Rebels engaged against him; he spared them in the Heat of Battle, and when they submitted, treated them as if they had never offended. The first Night he entred *Paris* he visited the Dutchess of *Monpensier*, though she had been the Life and Soul of the *League*, and had injured him with her Tongue as far as was in the Power of an incensed Woman and a furious Zealot. The Duke of *Mayenne* he made General of his Army; and did not distrust him the more, that he had commanded Armies against him. He had a truly great Soul, and such will always disdain the Coward's Vertue, which is Fear; and the Consequence of it, which is Revenge.

One of the greatest of our *English* Monarchs was *William the Conqueror*; and he was the greater, because he put to Death only one Person of Quality that we read of, and him after repeated Treacheries; yet he was a Foreigner, had Power sufficient, and did not want Provocations to have been more bloody. *Richard* the Second was, I think, the weakest Prince recorded in *English* Story; so his Reign was almost one continued Scene of Slaughter, from his assuming the Power himself, till he came to be strip'd of his Crown, and soon after of his Life. But it is needless to quote Examples, where common Sense is the best Guide.

The Part the Ministry have to act at present is indeed delicate, as having a great deal to fear, and not much to hope. If they appear on the favourable Side,

Side, they may be thought not ſo Zealous againſt the King's Enemies as they ſhould be: If they adviſe Severities, and any Miſcarriage, Change or Calamity happen thereupon, they are to anſwer for it with their Heads: So that they are to ſtake their Lives and Fortunes upon the ſingle Point, that, let what will happen diſaſtrous, they ſhall always have the Crown and Parliament of their Party; and it would be well for them if they might take out a leaſe of that for Life; or elſe by propoſing moderate pacifying Meaſures, they are to run the Riſque of being miſrepreſented at Court, as too indifferent to the King, and too indulgent to the Rebels, and of being thought throughout the reſt of the Kingdom, to be the King's beſt Friends. To this I have only to ſay, That if it be in the wrong Place to propoſe Temper at this Juncture, it is however an Error on the right Side. It is indiſputable, that no real Evil can ſpring from that Quarter; and I pretend to tell, by advance, that as perhaps ſome who ſeem now moſt eager to harden the King's Heart, may live to ſtand in need of his Mercy; ſo thoſe who are for the leaſt confined Mercy, will be found to have adviſed beſt for the King's Honour and Safety: By ſo much as it is far better to correct the ill Humours of a Body by Time, and a ſober Regimen, than by unſeaſonable deſperate Practicks to ſet them afloat, when one doth not know how ſoon they may ſettle upon the Vitals.

An Error, on the other Hand, will hang as a Cloud over the Promoters of it: And when it may break, depends upon ſo many Hazards, that no wiſe Man will expoſe himſelf, without apparent Neceſſity, to the Storm. Eſpecially when he reflects, That the Will of this Man, a Second, or a Third, or of ſomething yet more uncertain than the Wills of Men, is to determine the Point.

I think it would not be unſeaſonable for ſome Men, to recollect what their own Notions were of the Treatment of the *Catalans*; how many Declamati-

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ons were made, on the Barbarity uſed towards them by King *Philip!* Yet they were Rebels againſt him; they had own'd his Right, ſwore Allegiance to him, as much as any of the preſent Rebels owned King *George:* And, during the whole Courſe of the War, which ever of them ſubmitted to Diſcretion, were received to Mercy; nay, even after their obſtinate Defence of *Barcelona*, not a Man of them was put to Death, who ſubmitted, or implored the King's Mercy; nor was this Moderation in the *Spaniſh* Government to be imputed to Fear, ſince the *Catalans* were wholly without Allies or any Support; but the pure Effect of a Principle of Policy in a Court and Country, not over famous for Clemency.

Juſt as I was entring upon the Conſideration, how much it is the Intereſt of the whole Royal Family, to have their Name and Succeſſion endeared to their People; and that nothing could be of that Service to the *Child that is unborn*, as Acts of Mercy, Generoſity and Goodneſs, I was ſtruck with Horror at the News, that *in ſpight* of the viſible and almoſt univerſal Inclination of all Ranks of People, in favour of their Country-Men, the Impeach'd Lords are to be executed.

Obſtupui, ſteteruntque comæ & vox faucibus hæſit.

F I N I S.